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*The Asiatic Affinities of the Malay Language.**By C. Staniland Wake.**(Read before the American Philosophical Society, April 18, 1890.)*

The existence of a connection between the language of the Malagasy and that of the Malays is so evident that all matters relating to the latter people are of importance, as bearing on the question of the origin of the natives of Madagascar.

The Malays would seem to be first mentioned in the Chinese annals, which refer to the existence, between the years 618 and 939 of our era, of eighteen small States, probably Shan, in Further India, *north of the country of the Malays*. The Shans, to whom the Siamese are closely allied, were therefore preceded in that region by not only the Burmese, who are probably related to the Naga tribes, but also the allied Chams and Malays, whose affinities would be rather with the Mongolian peoples of India, now represented by the Kolarian tribes. This view is evidently supported by the statement of M. Vivien de Saint-Martin that there is a general and primitive relationship between the "innumerable ramifications of the non-Aryan race of India and Indo-China." The Rev. Dr. Mason and other writers have found a similarity between the language of the Môn of Tegu and that of the Mundakols of Chutia Nagpur, and Dr. Latham states that the Malay language is connected with the Môn, and therefore also with the Kolarian dialects of India. He associates with them, as belonging to the same group, the language of Cambodia. Mr. Cust agrees in allowing a relationship between Môn and Cambodian, but he classes the Malay language as a distinct family. Prof. A. H. Keane affirms, on the other hand, that the Khmer of Cambodia has nothing in common with the Kolarian except a few verbal resemblances through the Talaing, and that the Malay is "unmixed in structure and fundamentally related to the Cambodian." If we test these statements by reference to the numerals of those languages, we find that the Khmer differs from Malay and agrees with the Kolarian dialects. This is shown by the following table:

	Khmer.	Kolarian.			Malay.
		Talaing.	Hos.	Sontal.	
1.	muy	mooa	mi	mia	satu
2.	pir	ba	bara	baria	dua
3.	bey	pee	apia	pia	tiga
4.	buon	paun	apania	ponia	ampat

The Malay numeral *ampat*, four, is probably derived from the Kolarian, but some of the others are evidently of Dravidian origin. This is true doubtless of *satu*, one, which appears to be connected with Brahui *asit*, one, in Dravidian *or-u*, the *r* and *s* being interchangeable. The Malay numerals *dalapan*, eight, *sambilan*, nine, and *sapula*, ten, are certainly connected with the Dravidian. Dr. Caldwell remarks* that the classical Tamil grammars teach that *pattu*, ten, may in certain connections be written *pahdu*, from *pag-u*, to divide, which corresponds to *pagudi*, classical Tamil *pâl*, a division. Thus the ancient Tamil *orupukadu* is *oru pahdu*, one ten. We have here the explanation of the Malay *sapula*, which likewise means "one ten," the word *pula* being evidently connected with the Dravidian numeral. The Malay word *sambilan*, nine, has a similar explanation. Dr. Caldwell explains the Tamil *onbadu*, nine, in Malayalam *ombadu*, as compounded of the ordinary Dravidian *or*, one, and *padu*, ten, and as having the meaning of "one from ten." The Malay *sambilan* has the same sense, and is compounded of *sa(m)*, one, and *pula* (*bilan*), ten. Dr. Caldwell applies to the Dravidian numerals the rule "characteristic of the Scythian languages," that they "use for eight and nine compounds which signify ten minus two and ten minus one." This rule applies, as we have seen, to the Malay numeral nine, and it does so also to *eight*. Thus *dalapan* is compounded of *dua*, two, and *pula*, ten; as in Telugu *enimidi*, ten, meaning "two from ten," is formed of *eni*, two, and *midi*, which is really identical with *padi*, ten.

Prof. Keane refers to the Indo-Pacific numerals as common elements in the Malay and Polynesian languages; he points out that in the Samoan *sefalu*, ten, we have a reduplication of the "enunciative particle," "the expression being really equivalent to *sa-sa-falu*, 'a one-ten.'" He says further that "the needless repetition shows that the original sense has long been lost: a further proof of the vast antiquity and independence of the Sawaiori [Polynesian] tongues." Prof. Keane adds that as the "common elements in the Indo-Pacific languages are organic and not borrowed," these languages "form a linguistic family in the same sense that the Aryan or Semitic are linguistic families." The evident connection between the Malay and the Dravidian numerals throws doubt, however, on that conclusion. Prof. Keane refers also to the Polynesian word for five, *lima*, which he supposes to have originally meant hand, as it still usually does, and he states that "this meaning is lost in Malay, Javanese, Malagasy, etc., where *lima*, retained as a numeral, has been replaced in the sense of hand by *tanghan*, *tahan*, etc." So far, however, from the Malay having exchanged *lima* for *tanghan*, the probability is that it never used the former word in the sense of "hand;" as *tanghan* or an allied form is thus used by the Asiatic peoples to whom the Malays are most closely related. This view is not inconsistent with the remarks on the numeral "five" in the Dravidian languages made by Dr. Caldwell, who suggests that it might be derived from *kei*, in Tamil a hand. Probably

* Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, p. 248, 1875.

the Dravidian word for hand, in Gond *kaik*, as well as the numeral five, *saighan* in Gond, and the Malay *tanghan* are derived from a common root meaning "hand." It is noticeable that in Samoan the word *lima* is not used in speaking of a chief's hand. This is 'a 'ao, in other Polynesian dialects *kakao*, which is the original form, and is evidently allied to the words just referred to. The origin of the word *lima* is probably to be sought in the languages of Cochin China, in which the numeral five is *naru* or *laru*, unless it is derived from the Shan dialects, which have the word *mu* or *mi* for "hand." The Malay would seem to have taken its numerals "two" and "three" from the same source as that to which it was indebted for the word *tanghan*. In the Tungus languages "five" is *tonga*, or a slightly differing form of this word, and in the same languages we have *dzur*, *dzhoua*, *dyul*, *dyur* for "two," and *ela*, *gilang*, *ilan* for "three," answering to the Malay *dua* and *tiga*, which in Polynesian become *lua* and *tolu*.

The consideration of the numeral systems of the Malay and Cambodian does not support the conclusion that these languages are of the same family. Prof. Keane refers, however, to a feature possessed by both of them, which he considers so peculiarly distinctive as of itself alone almost to be sufficient to establish their common origin. This is the use of identical *infixes*.* It should be noted, however, that this important feature is not met with in the Polynesian dialects, which employ a prefix† instead, although it is found in all the true Malayan dialects, and is especially frequent in those of the Philippine islands. Prof. Keane does not give the origin of this "Malayan feature," as it is termed by the Rev. L. Dahle, who first pointed out its presence in Malagasy. It is somewhat difficult to understand how the use of infixes can be universal in Malay, but not be met with in Polynesian, if, as Prof. Keane supposes, those languages form one family with the "polysyllabic untuned languages of Indo-China," which the Malays are said to have acquired. If the Polynesian and Cambodian languages belong to the same family, that feature must either have been developed after their separation or have been acquired by the latter from a foreign source. When we consider that the use of infixes is essentially Malayan, we are tempted to believe that it has been taken by the Cambodian from the Malay or an allied language, such as the Cham. The latter opinion is supported by certain other characters of the Khmer tongue. This is classed by Mr. Keane with the "polysyllabic untuned languages," and rightly so inasmuch as the Khmer is pronounced *recto-tono*; although the same word has several significations, the sense of the phrase alone giving the true signification. According to M. Moura, however, the Cambodian language is really monosyllabic. He says expressly, "like all the languages and idioms spoken in our days by the peoples of the extreme East, the Cambodian is a monosyllabic language."

* Prof. Keane says that the infix is always the liquid *m* or *n* or *mn*, with or without the vowels *a*, *o* with *m*, or *a*, *i* with *n*.

† The Samoan prefix is *mo*.

He adds, "in books of poetry, theology and even sometimes in ordinary language, a certain number of polysyllabic words are found, but these words are generally of Sanskrit or Pali origin, and prove nothing against the general character of the language." M. Moura cites various words which have been derived from the Pali, and which could be indefinitely added to. He states that they have been shortened, so as to reduce them as much as possible to the monosyllabic form, "which is one of the distinctive features of the genius of the Khmer language." If this language is in reality monosyllabic, Prof. Keane's argument, based on its polysyllabic character, cannot be sustained, but even if M. Moura is wrong, we must conclude that the Khmer has been indebted for certain of its features to the Malay rather than the reverse.

As to the verbal relationship between the Khmer and Malay languages we may judge from the comparative vocabularies contained in M. Moura's work. Of the 124 words there given only twenty-four are the same in those languages, of which sixteen are however the same also in Cham, which has thirteen other words common to it and Khmer alone. It appears, therefore, that Cham is more nearly related to Khmer, judging from their vocabularies than is Malay. This agrees with the fact of the early communication between the Khmers and the Cham. Moreover, Malay and Cham agree in thirty-three instances out of the 124, showing a closer relation between these two languages than exists between either of them and Khmer. That all these languages include both Kolarian and Dravidian elements is shown by reference to the short comparative vocabulary appended to this paper. Those elements have, however, been derived from different sources. M. Moura would, indeed, seem to think that the language as well as the written character of the Cambodians is derived from the Sanskrit and Pali, and it has no doubt obtained its foreign element chiefly from the north. The Malay, on the other hand, is fundamentally related to the Kolarian and the allied Mongolian languages, and its Dravidian element has been obtained from the south. This feature occupies a more important position in Malay than Dr. Caldwell appears to allow. When referring to the Dravidian word *kippal*, a ship, he says that the Malay word for "ship" is *kapâl*. He adds, however, that "this has probably been borrowed direct from Tamil, and forms one of a small class of Malay words which have sprung from a Dravidian origin, and which were introduced into the Eastern archipelago, either by means of the Klings (Kalingas), who settled there in primitive times, or by means of the Arab traders, whose first settlers in the East were on the Malabar coast, where the Malayâlam, the oldest daughter of the Tamil, is spoken." Reference has already been made to the Dravidian origin of some of the Malay numerals, to which may be added that the affix *tu* in Malay *satu*, one, appears to be only the neuter formative *du*, which, according to Dr. Caldwell, is contained in various shapes in the first three Dravidian numerals. Moreover, the Malay *sa*, like the Dravidian *oru*, one, is used as the indefinite article. Other verbal agreements could be

mentioned, but I will refer to only one other example. Dr. Caldwell states that *tî* is the classical Tamil word for "fire," but that the more commonly used word is *neruppu*, in Telugu *nippu*. Here we have, no doubt, the origin of the Malay *api* (in Samoan *afi*), which in Cham takes the form *apui*. Dr. Leyden long since pointed out that the language of the Malays contains a great number of Tamil, Malayalam and Telinga words which are not found in Sanskrit or the allied Indian languages, and particularly "a variety that are only to be found in Telinga," the vernacular of the ancient kingdom of Kalinga.*

* Asiat. Researches, Vol. x, p. 171.

		KHMER.		CHAM.		
1	Bird	sat hor	<i>Dravidian</i> kôr-i <i>Persian</i> khor-os(coc)	chim po	(see <i>Egg</i>)	
2	Dog	chhkê	<i>Tibetan</i> khyi <i>Hindi</i> kootha	asau	<i>Sanskrit</i> swan <i>Kolarian</i> sêtâ	
3	Ear	trachick	<i>Tibetan(Sok)</i> khikhê <i>Kolarian</i> khetway	tanhu	<i>Naga</i> tenhaun (see <i>Malay</i>)	
4	Egg	pong	<i>Yeniseian</i> ong	bo	<i>Kolarian</i> pito	
5	Eye	phnek panék	<i>Dravidian</i> kank <i>Hindi</i> ânk	mata	<i>Kolarian</i> met <i>Mon (Tegu)</i> mot	
6	Female	nhi	<i>Dravidian</i> henn-u	benai	<i>Dravidian</i> pen, henn-u	
7	Fire	phlung	<i>Kolarian</i> sengel	apui	<i>Dravidian</i> nippu	
8	Fish	trey	<i>Kolarian</i> hai	akan	<i>Kolarian</i> haku <i>Burmese</i> kha	
9	Foot	chung	<i>Tibetan</i> kango <i>Mon (Pegu)</i> jaing	takai	<i>Kolarian</i> kata	
10	Hand	day	<i>Kolarian</i> tih <i>Dravidian</i> kei	tangun	<i>Yeneseian</i> hanga	
11	Head	ka-bal	<i>Sanskrit</i> kapâla <i>Dravidian</i> tala	akak	<i>Dravidian</i> kuk <i>Burm. (Sak)</i> akhû	
12	Horse	sê	<i>Tibetan</i> ta <i>Sanskrit</i> aswa	asè	(see <i>Khmer</i>)	
13	House	ptea	<i>Drav.(Gond)</i> erpa	sang	<i>Tibetan</i> nang	
14	Man	menus pros	<i>Pali</i> manut <i>Sanskrit</i> manusha	orang lokay	<i>Kolarian</i> koro, lokka	
15	Moon	ke	? { <i>Burmese</i> la <i>Shan</i> len	bulan	<i>Kolarian</i> lerung	
16	Mouth	mot	<i>Kolarian</i> tamode <i>Bengali</i> mukh	chebuoi	? <i>Yeneseian</i> hohui, bu- [khom	
17	Nose	chrêmo	<i>Mongolian</i> khamar <i>Siamese</i> tamua <i>Sanskrit</i> ghrana	adung	<i>Yeneseian</i> hang [ma, elu-mbu	
18	Ox	ku	<i>Sanskrit</i> go (cow)	lama	<i>Dravidian</i> eruma, er-	
19	River	tanla	<i>Dravidian</i> kole <i>Nepaul</i> khola	sungai	<i>Cochin China</i> song <i>Mongolian</i> uhung(wa-	
20	Serpent	{ pos sbêk (skin)	<i>Nep.(Tharu)</i> sapa <i>Dravidian</i> pab, pavu <i>Siamese</i> mic <i>Burmese</i> mo	ala	(see <i>Malay</i>) [ter)	
21	Sky	mik	<i>Dravidian</i> pab, pavu <i>Siamese</i> mic <i>Burmese</i> mo	langik	<i>Kolarian</i> sengil (fire) singi (sun)	
22	Star	pakai	<i>Drav.(Gond)</i> binka	bintang	<i>Dravidian</i> binka	
23	Stone	thma	<i>Mon (Pegu)</i> tmauon	botau	(see <i>Egg</i>)	
24	Sun	thngai tangai	<i>Kolarian</i> singi (see <i>fire</i>)	haray	<i>Mongolian</i> nara <i>Sanskrit</i> sùrya	
25	Water	tenk, tak	<i>Kolarian</i> dah <i>Mon (Pegu)</i> dai	ea	<i>Dravidian</i> yer	
26	Wood	chhu	<i>Dravidian</i> chettu (tree)	kayou	<i>Dravidian</i> chettu, gida	
	1	muy	<i>Kolarian</i> mia	sa	<i>Dravidian</i> or-u <i>Brahui</i> as-it	
	2	pir	<i>do.</i> baria	dua	<i>Tungusian</i> dzur, dyur	
	3	bey	<i>do.</i> pia	klau	<i>Tungusian</i> ela, gilang	
	4	buon	<i>do.</i> ponua	pac	<i>Kolarian</i> ponua, apa-	
	5	pram	? { <i>Tonkin</i> lam <i>Annam</i> nam	lêmu	<i>Tonkin</i> lam [nia <i>Annam</i> nam	
	6	pram muy		nam	<i>Tungusian</i> nungun	
	7	pram pil		tuju	<i>Dravidian</i> edu, yetu	
	8	pram bey		dopan	(two from ten)	
	9	pram buon		samlan	<i>Dravidian</i> onbadu (one from ten)	
	10	dap	<i>Dravidian</i> padu <i>Tonkin</i> tap <i>Hindi</i> das	saphu	<i>Dravidian</i> oru padu (one ten)	

		MALAY.		SAMOAN.		
1	Bird	burang tarbeang		manu	<i>Fiji</i>	manumanu
2	Dog	anjing	<i>Dravidian</i> nây	moa (fowl)	<i>Khmer</i>	mon (fowl)
		asu (<i>Java</i>)		uti, malle	<i>Fiji</i>	koli
3	Ear	talinga	<i>Naga</i> telanno	taliga	<i>Singhalese</i>	balla
			<i>Arakan</i> (Kumi), kano		<i>Fiji</i>	daliga
		kana (<i>Java</i>)	<i>Singpho</i> kana			
4	Egg	talor	<i>Sanskrit</i> sila (stone)	fua	<i>Fiji</i>	vua (fruit)
			<i>Dravidian</i> kal (stone)			
			<i>Koreng</i> talo (stone)			
5	Eye	mata	(see <i>Cham</i>)	mata	<i>Fiji</i>	mata
6	Female	botina	(see <i>Cham</i>)	fafine		
7	Fire	api	<i>Dravidian</i> nippu	afi		
			<i>Thai</i> fai			
8	Fish	ikan	(see <i>Cham</i>)	i'a		
9	Foot	koki	<i>Kolarian</i> kata	vae	<i>Dayak</i>	pai
			<i>Tibetan</i> kango		<i>Fiji</i>	yava
			<i>Permian</i> kok			
10	Hand	tangan	(see <i>Cham</i>)	lima	? <i>Siamese</i>	mu
11	Head	kapala	<i>Sanskrit</i> kapāla	'a'ao (chief's)	<i>Fiji</i>	liga
		ulu	<i>Dravidian</i> tala	ulu		
			<i>Arakan</i> (Kumi) alû			
12	Horse	kudo	<i>Dravidian</i> kudirei			
			<i>Yeneseian</i> kut			
13	House	ruma	<i>Dravidian</i> (Gond) roon	fale		
			<i>Arakan</i> (Kumi) ûm			
			<i>Kolarian</i> ora			
14	Man	orang koki	(see <i>Cham</i>)	tane, tugata	<i>Fiji</i>	tagane, tamata
15	Moon	bulan	(see <i>Cham</i>)	ma-uli, ma-sina	<i>Fiji</i>	vula
16	Mouth	mulot	(see <i>Khmer</i>)	gutu	<i>Fiji</i>	gusu
			<i>Arakan</i> (Kumi) amoká		<i>Singhalese</i>	kata
17	Nose	hidong	(see <i>Cham</i>)	isn	<i>Fiji</i>	ucu
					<i>Sanskrit</i>	nāsa
18	Ox	lambu	(see <i>Cham</i>)			
19	River	sûngei	(see <i>Cham</i>)	vaitafe	(see <i>Water</i>)	
20	Serpent	ulor		gata	? <i>Siamese</i>	ngu
		kulet (skin)	} <i>Dravid.</i> tol			
		uli (skin <i>Bugis</i>)				
21	Sky	langet	(see <i>Cham</i>)	lagi	<i>Fiji</i>	lagi
22	Star	bintang	(see <i>Cham</i>)	fetû	(see <i>Khmer</i>)	
23	Stone	botu	<i>Kolarian</i> pito (egg)	fatu	<i>Fiji</i>	vatu
24	Sun	mato hari	(see <i>Cham</i>)	la	<i>Fiji</i>	sigā
					<i>Kolarian</i>	singl
25	Water	ayor	(see <i>Cham</i>)	vai		
				taufā (chief)	} <i>Fiji</i>	wai
26	Wood	kayu	(see <i>Cham</i>)	la'au	<i>Fiji</i>	kau (tree)
			<i>Eskimo</i> keiyu			
	1	sātu		tasi	<i>Malagasy</i>	iray, isa
	2	dúa		lua	<i>do.</i>	roa
	3	tiga		tolu	<i>do.</i>	telo
	4	ampat	(<i>Bugis</i> apa)	fā	<i>do.</i>	efatra
	5	lima		lima	<i>do.</i>	dimy
	6	a'nam		ono	<i>do.</i>	enina
	7	tújoh		fitu	<i>do.</i>	fito
	8	delápan		valu	<i>do.</i>	valo
	9	sambilan		iva	<i>do.</i>	sivy
	10	sapúloh		sefulu	<i>do.</i>	folo